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Madonna and Child, Nagasaki (after the A-bomb), 1945

"An H-bomb 1,000 times more potent than an A-bomb . . . would destroy totally an area of almost 315 square miles and set major fires and inflict fatal burns over 432 square miles . . . wipe out Philadelphia and Camden in a single flash of paralyzing blast. . . ."
From an article by John H. McCollough in the Philadelphia **Inquirer**, Nov. 19, 1952.

WAR & PEACE

Cease-fire now becomes key issue at UN

A WEEK of maneuverings in UN's Political Committee wound up with the U.S. and its allies lauding India's Korean truce resolution, and pressing for an immediate vote against a reluctant India which insisted on delay over the week-end. While Iraq and Denmark had offered amendments to bring the resolution close to U.S. desires, the attempt by most pro-U.S. delegates to persuade India to modify it in this direction—without formal amendments or debate—got results. In the words of Australia's Sir Percy Spender, the U.S. and its allies found the resolution capable "of being molded effectively to meet our wishes."

After India potentially tipped the balance of its proposed four-power POW Repatriation Commission in the West's favor by agreeing that the "umpire" should be a fifth voting member, the U.S.S.R.'s Vishinsky first vigorously criticized the resolution, then offered his own compensatory amendments. Western spokesmen sought to picture the socialist member-nations as rejecting a compromise for peace accepted by everyone else. But Vishinsky said the Committee was making no real attempt at a solution since it was proceeding without "taking into account at all the views of the interested parties." Peking, he said, had already given India a "negative answer" on the resolution 48 hours earlier, but India's Krishna Menon had not even mentioned this.

THE EMPTY CHAIR: Vishinsky offered as one amendment his own previous proposal of an 11-member commission (U.S., Britain, France, U.S.S.R., China, India, Burma, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, N. and S. Korea) to take up all issues including POW repatriation and unification of Korea. His main amendment was an immediate cease-fire; willingness to accept this—to stop the bloodshed while disscussions went on—was, he implied, the real test of sincerity. He pointed out that the U.S. would still have the N. Korean and Chinese POW's while negotiations continued (a point made at the outset of the current UN discussions on Korea by Pakistan's Zafrullah Khan).

Peking cabled to Canada's Lester Pearson, current General Assembly president, that it supported the Soviet cease-fire resolution as the reasonable way to end the war. This—apart from Vishinsky's statement—was the only reminder that one of the great powers directly involved in the war was not represented in the debate on ending it.

NEHRU'S DILEMMA: Whatever the resolution's fate, it had indeed brought to a head the crisis of the truce talks, clarified some outstanding issues. These were some of the aspects and issues the debate had pointed up:

- **Despite rumors floating around UN**

(Continued on Page 4)

'How to Master Your Fears'—First of Six Revealing Articles, Page 17

The Washington Post

AEC Confirms Hydrogen Bomb Test;

See W. E. B. DuBois, p. 3

ROSENBERG DEADLINE JAN. 12

Trial judge out of case; Sobell sent to Alcatraz

JUDGE IRVING R. KAUFMAN, who sentenced Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to death as "atom-spies," last week acceded to a defense request for another judge to pass upon new motions to invalidate the conviction and set aside the sentence. The new legal move was assigned to Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan, who ordered a hearing for Monday afternoon, but postponed it to Tuesday when government attorneys were unready with their answering brief.

Attorneys for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, convicted with them and sentenced to 30 years, had first appeared before Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld to ask that the hearing be assigned to a judge other than Kaufman; he found "no special circumstances" for such an order. But Judge Kaufman himself asked to be relieved after studying a 12-page affidavit signed by the Rosenbergs charging him with "personal bias, hostility, animus and prejudice against us." Though he called their charges "clearly insufficient" and said they "had a fair trial," he had decided to remove himself from passing on the motions "in the interests of judicial expediency." (Had he decided not to disqualify himself, his ruling would have been immediately appealed to a higher court; a decision there might have taken months.)

"REASON ASSAILED": In their affidavit, the Rosenbergs charged:

- **That Judge Kaufman's remarks upon passing the death sentence rested entirely "on assumptions of fact which do not comport with truth or reality."**
- **That his conclusions "assailed reason and the intelligent and informed mind; they were an admixture of misinformation, sired by ignorance, and of unfair syllogisms, erected on infirm premises."**
- **That the blame he placed on them "for a succession of national disasters" was in complete disregard of the trial record — "his only avowed source of information" — and "contrary to the facts of history and science."**

The petition to invalidate the conviction and set aside the death sentence was based, defense attorney Emanuel H. Bloch told the court, on "unfairness, fraud, perjury known to the authorities," and the contention —buttressed by affidavits of four internationally-known scientists (GUARDIAN, Nov. 27)—that the material allegedly transmitted to Russia was not secret but well-known. Further evidence of its non-secret nature was submitted in the form of more than 100 scientific journals, collected from all over the world, showing the "secrets" were public knowledge as early as 1940.

PRESSURE TO "TALK": During the week Sobell was removed from New York to Alcatraz. His wife gave this reason for his assignment to the toughest of federal prisons:

"They want him to name innocent persons as spies and admit a crime which he never committed."

Pressure on the Rosenbergs and Sobell to "confess" and name others has been constant since their conviction. It has been repeatedly suggested to them that Ethel Rosenberg might be freed entirely and Julius given a relatively light prison sentence in return for "talking." In a prosecution-inspired series of articles beginning in the N.Y. **Post** Oliver Pilat wrote:

The Rosenbergs have apparently chosen to welcome . . . martyrdom. Only executive clemency or confession, it appears, can save them from the chair; and Julius Rosenberg apparently rejected the alternative of confession in mid-October after learning that the Supreme Court would not review the conviction.

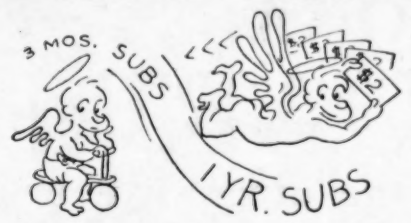
The Rosenbergs have insisted from the beginning that they have nothing to "confess."

VOICE OF THE WORLD: As the execution date (set for the week of Jan. 12) drew closer, supporters of the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case stepped up their activities. More than 2,500 persons overflowed Los Angeles' Embassy Auditorium, contributed $3,500 to the defense. Three of Canada's leading Jewish newspapers urged clemency. The N.Y. **Times** (11/28) published a letter from

(Continued on Page 8)

A ROSENBERG PICKET LINE IN LONDON
In Grosvenor Sq., which Londoners call Eisenhower Platz

WANT A NEW LIFT?



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THE MAIL BAG

Rosenberg chain postcards

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I've been mailing to almost everyone I ever knew postcards stating the Rosenbergs are to die Jan. 12; that opinion is divided as to their guilt, but a majority are shocked and outraged at the horribly vindictive sentence; that only the greatest mail barrage to President Truman can prevent their going to the chair; and asking my addressees to write or wire Truman today—and copy the card and mail it to five friends.

Won't you urge all readers to do the same? **Norma Becker**

●

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I have sent President Truman the GUARDIAN center-spread of the Pritt analysis of the Rosenberg trial record, with my personal message across the top in blue pencil, signed with full name and address. **Andrew Vena**

An American Judenrat?

SUNLAND, CALIF.

Who was chosen to impose the monstrous death sentence on the Rosenbergs? Federal Judge Irving Kaufman — a Jew. To prosecute them? U. S. Atty. Irving Saypol — a Jew. (The Fed. Appeals Court censured him Aug. 22, 1951, for trying to "arouse possible racial [anti-Semitic] prejudice on the part of the jury.") As witnesses to incriminate them? David Greenglass and Max Elitchcr — two Jews in trouble with the FBI. To read the decision upholding the sentence? Appellate Judge Jerome Frank — a Jew. To file a denial of review of the sentence? Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter — a Jew.

How many Jews, in a city of 2,000,000 Jews — one-third of the population — were chosen to sit on the jury that convicted these progressive Jewish parents? NONE.

What does this add up to? An anti-democratic, anti-Semitic conspiracy by the U. S. government, a federally-conceived American Dreyfus case aided and abetted by a federally-sponsored American Judenrat. **N. A. S.**

Billy and God

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

Billy Graham the Evangelist is preparing to make a personal trip to Korea, thus vastly increasing our chances to win the war. Should Billy find God to be on the wrong side of the conflict he can surely fix that. **Vincent Noga**

Veterans for Peace

DES MOINES, IA.

In connection with organizing veterans for peace, asked for and implied in letters from Korean veterans in your latest issue:

All veterans of the Korean and other wars may herewith be informed that a splendid organization of veterans exists: American Veterans for Peace. It puts out an excellent monthly news-sheet—

How crazy can you get dept.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18— . . . People are noting the initials "JRS" engraved on the Benjamin Franklin half-dollars, and they call the treasury to see whether the letters stand for "Joseph R. Stalin."

. . . The initials are those of John A. Sinnock, nationally famous sculptor. . . . On the [Roosevelt] dime he used the initials "JS," and that caused a real flurry among the Red hunters. When time came to issue the Franklin half-dollars, he included his middle initial, thinking that would solve things.

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Nov. 19.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Mrs. S. Nusser, Pittsburgh.

Vets Voice—with international coverage, $1 per year. Address is P. O. Box 282, Forest Hills, N. Y. The national office of the AVP is 257 7th Av., N. Y. C., where information may be obtained regarding existing or nascent branches in other localities. **World War II Veteran**

Save WNYC

NEW YORK, N. Y.

One of the few radio stations in the U. S. that does not insult your intelligence and fill the airwaves with commercials, soap operas and other idiocies — New York City's radio station WNYC—is on the way out. There is an "economy" movement to kill it.

I urge all New Yorkers to write letters immediately—and urge all your relatives, friends and shopmates to do so—to Controller Lazarus Joseph, Municipal Bldg., New York 7, N. Y., insisting that WNYC be continued. **D. Reif**

Pension groups

HARRISON, IDAHO

I represent a small group interested in accumulating information about old-age pension groups in the various states. We desire correspondence with organizations and individuals in as many states as possible, with the aim of forming some sort of national organization, representing all who are interested in better old-age pensions and in national pensions. **Louise Dennis**

Deportees and PW's

GREENWICH, CONN.

Mr. Vishinsky, in his speech before the UN, challenged our sincerity in wanting the prisoners to have a free choice as to where they were to be returned. He claimed our motives were not humanitarian but actuated by our desire to continue the war.

It would seem that our State Dept. and Immigration Dept. attitude on the unfortunate people who are having their citizenship revoked substantiates his view, as they are in many cases having to fight for their very lives against being returned to the very countries from which they fled as political refugees. A case in point is Antonio Papadimitrion, who is in imminent danger of being sent back to Greece. If he is a communist, he would certainly, at best, be landed in a concentration camp. This is, of course, exactly what we say we want to avoid in the case of the Korean prisoners. **Nora Stanton Barney**

Kesselring's victims

MIAMI, FLA.

I was horror-stricken by the news of Field Marshal Kesselring's release, for only last year, I visited the Ardentine caves near Rome, where 335 innocent Italians were brutally massacred. To visit this shrine is a heart-rending, unforgettable experience. It is surmounted by a huge white stone monument of three figures, two men and a woman, back to back with hands tied.

This powerful statue commands the landscape and can be seen for miles around. The grave is visited by people from all over Italy who bring flowers and commemorate the dead. Inside the cave, in the twilight and complete stillness, are 335 graves, each having a light and the name, age, occupation and photograph of the victim.

No one, not even the most hardened, passes more than a few rows without crying like a child. If the western powers will let the instigator of this monstrous crime go unpunished, they will never again be able to pose to the world as democracies, but will only reveal their ruthless and fascist nature. **E. Wilker**

Just suppose . . .

TACOMA, WASH.

After the war Japan was never again to be a military power. Now the U. S. is giving her battleships, frigates and landing craft. Just suppose they should turn them against us. . . . **Art Munt**

Reynolds News, London

"If you are not both in this International Cartel plot, why do you both charge the same price for petrol?"

Abe Feller's death

NEW YORK, N. Y.

From the Nov. 24 New Republic's editorial "The Life and Death of Abe Feller":

"Five years of witch-hunts have left their mark on America. A whole generation of adults has come to believe that a man charged by slander is guilty until proven innocent; a whole generation of adolescents has come to identify 'Americanism' with complete and unthinking conformism; a whole generation of children has been taught by heart the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag and has no notion of what is written in the Bill of Rights." **A. Garcia Diaz**

Alumni for Prof. Burgum

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A group of N. Y. University alumni have prepared a statement protesting as a denial of academic freedom Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum's suspension three hours after his refusal to answer a McCarran Comm. question. It points out that the McCarran Comm. itself accepted Burgum's constitutional ground for refusal to answer; that NYU Chancellor Heald had no other complaint about Burgum's 28 years of service; and that the Amer. Assn. of Univ. Professors this year condemned "legislative investigations which are in fact trials of individuals based on thoughts and opinions" as "inimical to the nation."

Chancellor Heald has been asked for an appointment for a delegation to present the protest to him. Will any readers who are NYU alumni communicate with us about this and other action to insure Prof. Burgum's reinstatement?

Ben Reid, '50
A. T. Rubinstein, '29
59 W. 71st St., N. Y. C.

A Comm. for Reinstatement of Prof. Burgum (Henry Pratt Fairchild, secy.) has been organized at 47 W. 44th St., N. Y. C. 36. Ed.

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REPORT TO READERS

We need your reply to our Holiday letter

THE UP-TO-DATE WAY in gift seasons is to ask for what you want, and keep the request within reason.

We of the GUARDIAN are asking you, the reader, for a simple gift at this Holiday time. We have set forth our needs in a Holiday letter which every subscriber has now received. We eagerly await your answer.

● We want your re-subscription for 1953 and we ask for whatever else you can spare over the $2 renewal price to help us keep the ship afloat.

● We'd like you to do some of your gift shopping through our buying service—and there isn't much time left!—and we'd like to send you in acknowledgement of your response a free box of our holiday greeting cards in time for you to use them.

So the time is short all around—and frankly the response to our Holiday letter has not been mountainous thus far.

WE KEEP TRYING to prevent a note of panic from entering these weekly appeals, but it becomes more and more difficult.

A glance through this or any issue of the paper should persuade you, we think, that the GUARDIAN has to be a "must" on your list if together we are to maintain this one national organ in the American press devoted to peace, human rights and political decency.

We look to our annual Holiday mailing to bring forth a bumper response — the kind that assures us you are with us and are doing your very best to help out with perhaps the only mass-financed job of newspapering in America.

WE HOPE THAT YOUR RESPONSE this week will make it possible for us to start looking ahead to '53 in these columns. But to be very honest, our problem right now is batting thru '52.

So please don't delay your response any longer.

—THE EDITORS

A Progressive totem

VENICE, CALIF.

Whom the Progressive Party will run in 1956 is a matter for conjecture. But I am sure the Progressive Party is a permanent part of the American scene. What about a totem for us? The Democrats have a donkey, Republicans have an elephant. Couldn't we have one too—to symbolize what we are trying to do for our country?

I suggest a stag or a buffalo. The stag is a noble beast, gives warning in time of danger.

The buffalo is typically American, has stamina, strength, a great heart. Of course the buffalo is nearly extinct now. And he was not always too intelligent.

How many people in this last election had never heard of Hallinan or the PP? Let's see that they at least know about our party and what we stand for next time. **Sarah C. Hansen**

For Christmas, 1952

SOUTHERN PINES, N. C.

Should it happen to a world that the people who have good will have no power, and the people who have power have no good will? **Byrd Willson**

Who pays the taxes?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

When it comes to taxes Big Business never had it so good. For though they whine and moan, they pay no taxes. We have it on their own word.

Ralph Cordiner, president of General Electric, in a message to his dividend collectors, wrote: "Taxes are a cost of doing business, and corporate management has no choice but to recover these taxes through higher prices."

Whatever taxes are not passed on to us workers and consumers through higher prices result in "lowered profits." Profits are sacred and the record rate must be maintained at the expense of the people.

This Himalayan tax load is used to finance the arms program. The corporate giants take the profits but let the people pay the taxes and do the dying. We who work for a living are at the bottom of the tax pyramid. We cannot pass them on to anyone but must also assume the taxes of profiteers.

It is up to us super-taxed and befuddled cannon fodder to flood Eisenhower with demands that he make good his promise of tax relief. Tell him we want those moneybags who are so fond of war and armaments to pay for them themselves. **Jefferson Patrick**

A friendly hand

SEATTLE, WASH.

It is said that when range horses were threatened by wolves they assumed a wheel formation, heads together to protect throats, heels out. Too often we take this position before and after meetings. We cluster around the speaker or join our clique, leaving newcomers who expect a friendly reception very lonely.

Is it because we want to be seen with important people? Are we afraid or scornful of "outsiders"?

Meeting a stranger from the next block can be as thrilling as shaking hands with a speaker from New York. It is not enough to approach new people in the spirit of a banker. We must think of them as human beings—not all cut from the same pattern—having a variety of experiences, abilities and needs. **E. M. Fitzroy**

Whistle stop

SCOTTSBURG, IND.

Sure had a hectic summer, moving and moving, and have just come home from a hospital after an operation for ulcer. But I managed to make a "little speech" in front of Scottsburg City Hall. I sat in my car where my husband had parked it and there were a bunch of men in front of City Hall (my husband went to get groceries) so I whistled.

One of the men came—he happened to be a Republican running for re-election. He gave me his card, asked me to consider him during election. After I got through talking he asked me to organize a local Peace Party and he's going to help me. He held onto my hand and most certainly wants to be friends. **Josephine Grezlak**

WILL STALIN PREDICTION PROVE ACCURATE?

The U.S.-British economic war gets hotter

By Tabitha Petran

AS the Eisenhower administration assumes power, the crises in Washington's policies and alliances are coming to a head. One of the most serious of these sits at the head of the table at the British Commonwealth Conference which opened in London last week. "The most important economic meeting since the war" (Foreign Secy. Eden) marks a critical phase in the undeclared Anglo-U.S. war for control of the British Empire's raw materials and markets.

Proclaimed aim of the conference is to plan for

> . . . the whole free world . . . a new pattern of trade and payments to replace the old outworn one which is now characterized by a chronic imbalance between the dollar area and the other countries (N. Y. Times, 11/25).

WHAT U.S., BRITAIN WANT: Although the U.S. is not represented, its shadow lies over the talks in the grey British Treasury building opposite the House of Commons. Commonwealth countries like Canada, Australia, S. Africa, increasingly drawn out of the British orbit by U.S. loans and pres-

sure, carry the ball for Washington, whose goals are:

- Convertibility of sterling, backed by a dollar fund. (Convertibility — making sterling more freely exchangeable with the dollar—would subject the sterling area to Washington control.)
- Favorable conditions for U.S. private investment in the sterling area, coupled with long-term contracts for purchase of sterling-area raw materials. (This would consolidate U.S. control of capitali t-world raw material sources, provide a huge market for export of U.S. capital.)

London's aim is to maintain the sterling area, its own position as area banker; to maneuver, as it has with some success in the past, against the U.S. attack, while getting U.S. aid to suppress colonial liberation movements and help finance rearmament. But its defense of imperial positions at its own people's expense undermines its fight against U.S. domination.

Shrinking Western trade

Contraction of capitalist-world trade forms the backdrop for the conference and the sharpening Anglo-U.S. economic war.

Between 1945 and 1952 the U.S. made available to Britain and W. Europe $26 billion in direct economic aid—roughly $500 from every American family. These countries had emerged from World War II with net income from foreign investments — which formerly bridged most of the gap between imports and exports—largely gone. Britain had lost about ¼ of its wealth, including $4 billion in U.S. securities.

U.S. "aid" was ostensibly to enable these countries to balance their trade. But in every year it totaled less than the amount its recipients were forced to spend on arms as the price of aid. The results can no longer be ignored.

HOW IT HITS US: In 1951 world trade, which reached a record 76 billion in dollar terms, was in real terms—discounting inflation and population growth—**considerably less than the world trade of the late 1920's.**

Even this much trade was more than the capitalist world could support—as the wave of import cuts in late '51 and '52 showed. The collapse of import capacities occurred even though U.S. '51 "aid" to its capitalist partners to make up dollar deficit totaled $4.5 billion. Import cuts by the sterling area, W. Europe, Latin America in turn helped produce a decline in U.S. exports beginning last May. U.S. non-military sales abroad have dropped 26% since the first quarter, total shipments (including military) 18%.

1952's world trade will show great declines in real volume from '51 and probably in dollar value, too.

YAWNING GAPS: By mid-'52, when the Marshall Plan ended, trade deficits of Britain and Italy were double those of 1948, when it started; France's, 1½ times as great. 1952's last half saw a worsening of the trade picture.

Britain narrowed the import-export gap in the 3rd quarter as a result of drastic import cuts last winter, helped by falling raw material prices. These cuts lowered food available to Britons and the raw materials needed by its key auto, shipbuilding, engineering, construction works. The London **Economist** (3/22/52) called this policy of balancing trade by reducing its volume "nonsensical save as a drastic and temporary expedient," asked what effects the cuts would have on production and exports. The effects are showing up in declining production and export volume, including engineering and other capital goods—a fall not yet reflected in balance-of-payments figures. Prices of British exports are also falling.

France's imports exceeded exports by more than $1 billion in the first 10 months, with exports dropping 35% and to the dollar area, 40%. In Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, the excess of imports over exports rose, especially with the dollar area.

The struggle for power

The growing trade crisis has bitten deep into dollar-and-gold reserves of the sterling area and W. Europe. The former, held in London, stand at less than $1.8 billion—less than half the $3.8 billion in the till in mid-1951.

The Commonwealth Conference will air many proposals to "ease the crisis"; but all will represent the struggle for power among the capitalist nations, rather than solutions, since the basic facts producing the crisis will be ignored:

- The U.S.-dictated embargo on East-West trade has isolated the capitalist world from expanding socialist-world markets. Trade between the two worlds is barely 2% of total trade among nations.
- The weight of rearmament is destroying markets within the capitalist world.

THE PEOPLE PAY: Since 1948 the capitalist world has spent over $200 billion on rearmament—a vast waste of raw materials, capital, manpower, plants, machinery for something totally unproductive. For this destructive waste, the people have paid:

In soaring prices—in every capitalist country living costs are up since 1948: 46% in France, 26% in Britain, 15% in Italy, 21% in the Netherlands, 24% in Denmark.

In taxes, now at unprecedented highs and paid largely by the poor in the form of sales taxes (in France, for

example, only wage earners—who make up 3,000,000 of the 3,800,000 who pay income taxes—pay both direct and indirect taxes).

In lower consumption of food and other necessities.

Spending by the people remains the motive power of capitalist economy; reduction of their capacity to spend is now seen in falling British and W. European production. In 1952's 2nd quarter, for the first time since the war, this area's industry failed to produce as much as in 1951's same period.

PRODUCTION DROPS: Britain's output dropped 6.6% in the 2nd quarter; Labour MP Harold Wilson told Parliament last month manufacturing output was 10% below last year; unemployment is at a ten-year high. **France's** output dropped 3% in the 2nd quarter, 12% in the 3rd (a much deeper and longer seasonal decline than usual) with consumer industry hardest hit but heavy industry also down. Production declined 1 to 7% in **Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg, Sweden, Denmark, Austria.**

W. Europe has made new cuts in investment in industry, whose badly needed modernization was already largely abandoned in 1948 in favor of rearmament. Present cutbacks further weaken its competitive position. Undertaken in the face of declining production and exports, these cuts "must spell disaster" (**New Statesman & Nation,** 11/18).

NATO's rearmament program for W. Europe, which had been based on a minimum 5%-a-year rise in production, is being cut this year from a planned $14 to $12 billion. This brought many predictions of NATO's imminent breakdown—designed presumably to influence the new administration and Congress to get more aid.

Stalin could be right

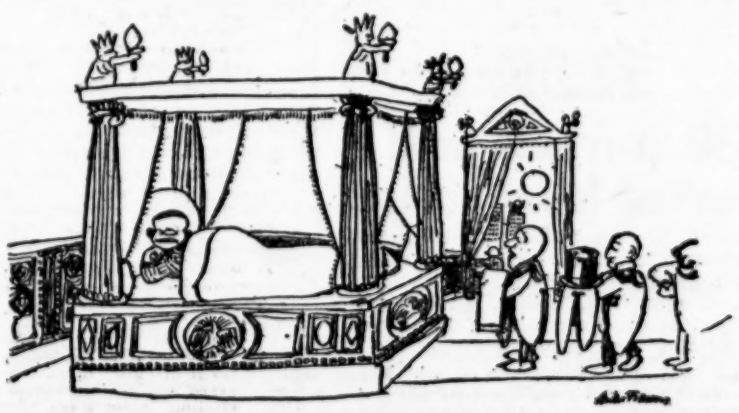
Spokesmen for the Washington-dictated policy of the capitalist world, now heading into serious crisis, admit some basic truth in Stalin's analysis of that world's growing difficulties—crowded as it is into an artificially-limited market —and his forecast of the eventual breakup of the capitalist alliance. Frederick Anderson, Mutual Assistance Program deputy representative in Europe, advised alliance members to

> . . . examine the Soviet assumptions with close attention. They contain, he said, "a great deal of penetrating insight" . . . (NYT, 11/10).

NYT's Michael Hoffman in Geneva (11/15) found

> . . . Stalin's confident prediction that the Western world will split apart as a result of commercial rivalry and mutual throat-cutting, a consummation . . . that sober Western businessmen and statesmen know is by no means impossible if U.S. economic policy merely drifts.

The drift, as the new administration will find, cannot be stopped under present policy.



Francois in Tribune des Nations, Paris

"Mr. General-President, it's time to go and save the world."

W. E. B. DuBois writes

On a nation going mad

By W. E. B. DuBois

THIS nation is going insane. One day last month two boys of 13 and 9 years were at home with their sister, Marion, who was 11. The older boy tried to drive her out of the room so that he could use it to study. She refused to go. He went up into the attic and found the gun which the family had used to kill things on their vacation. He carefully loaded it, brought it downstairs, and shot his sister dead.

Then he and his brother stole $150 from their father and ran away and spent it living in a hotel for several days. Then they came back home, and their father welcomed them and "forgave" them. Nobody has forgiven him. All had their pictures taken and printed in the daily press.

YESTERDAY I was sitting on a platform with a young lawyer, just released from six months in jail. He smiled, but his face was grim. He represented a step upward from his immigrant father who was a tailor. The son had become a lawyer but had not deserted his parents' social class; rather he had cooperated with it and become legal adviser for the union his father founded. Then he had become the attorney of trade unions, and finally had defended Communists accused of seeking to overthrow the government. He denied the accusation courageously and the judge sent him to jail for contempt; now his fellow-lawyers are trying to disbar him. He had a fine face and he was going to continue to fight.

I looked out beyond him and saw another face. It was a face which somehow I recognized. Paler, thinner and grayer than before, but I knew it. It was the face of a man who once was assistant of the librarian of Congress. Then he served the army as librarian in Japan, while his wife worked in Germany. After some years it was said that he was a "security risk." His wife was not allowed to join him. Both were sent home. He could get no work.

Finally Czechoslovakia offered him a job in the state library. He and his wife boarded a Polish ship. The government refused it clearance unless the two were put off. They re-landed in their native land. For six years he had had no work. His face appeared gaunt across the platform.

HERE are the contrary unreasonable variety of incidents which characterize the irrational. They are not simply wrong and evil—they are crazy in pattern. They are the mass insanity of a group rather than the aberration of individuals. They represent the effort of individuals to follow the contradictory fashions and thoughts of others, and lead to monstrous results. In the end the nation develops a pattern which is evil: and individuals follow in wild, cruel deeds, which drives them insane. Civilization falls.

Cease-fire at once is key issue at UN

(Continued from Page 1)

and hints cabled from India, it was doubtful that the Nehru government had more than a general promise of consideration by China of any Indian try for a truce formula.

• Nehru's graft-ridden, ineffectual government was shaky as the Indian public constantly compared it with the dynamic people's government of China; some serious observers, reported the N.Y. Times's C. L. Sulzberger from New Delhi (11/30), "make comparisons between the India of 1952 and the China of 1946." If Nehru could somehow bring peace to Korea it would raise his prestige at home—but looking as he is for more dollar aid, he cannot take any action that would antagonize Washington.

• India ostensibly sought a compromise; but while its resolution conceded the U.S. right to hold back POW's, it offered nothing tangible to N. Korea and China—only a hope that some kind of quid pro quo would be found later in the high-level political conference.

(To the Washington Post, 11/25, Vassar College political science prof. Cecil V. Crabb Jr. offered this suggestion: "We are negotiating merely because we cannot do otherwise. . . . [The] essence [of negotiation] is quid pro quo bargaining, an awareness by both sides that their 'maximum demands' cannot be fulfilled. If, by recognizing Red China or allowing her into UN, we succeeded in breaking the present stalemate, we shall have paid a small price. The choice seems to lie between an approach of this sort, appeasement, or global war—with the last two alternatives containing disastrous risks for the entire world.")

At the week-end the briefly flaring hope of ending the slaughter was but a flicker: for if UN passed over Soviet opposition an Indian resolution tailored to Western demands, Chinese-N. Korean rejection would make it ineffective; if India accepted the Soviet demand for immediate cease-fire, UN would turn it down.

PHANTOM FORCES: In Seoul, where paper flags and welcoming signs were out for the impending visit of the U.S. President-elect and hundreds of "subversives" were thrown in jail, S. Korean President Rhee's circle were ready to tell Eisenhower (N.Y. **World-Telegram,** 11/28) that

> . . . the only way out of the Korean impasse is to "fight our way out" . . . drive the Chinese Reds completely out of Korea.

That Rhee also expressed the wish

of U.S. brass in Korea and of Secy. of State-designate Dulles was clear; but as a politico-military strategist Eisenhower—whose campaign more or less committed him to find some solution to "get our boys home"—faced monumental problems. Any attempt to "drive the Reds out"—involving of necessity carrying the war into China—would call for far more fighting men in addition to heavy diversions of planes and weapons. The Western allies could not supply them, and the hopeful "Let Asians fight Asians" election slogan looked increasingly unrealistic. Rhee violently rejected suggestions that Japanese troops be sent, declaring that S. Koreans would prefer to fight them rather than Reds. Using Chiang troops would raise more military and political problems than it would solve; **NYWT**'s Ludwell Denny was now suggesting (11/28) that

> . . . the 200,000 of Chiang Kai-shek's half million Chinese Nationalist troops on Formosa, which have been considered an emergency reserve for Korea, may have to be saved for Indo-China, [where] America [is] already carrying one-third of the cost and furnishing most of the arms.

"AMERICANS REQUIRED": France's

Drawing by Iler

"We're protecting them from forcible repatriation. . . ."

six-year-old war against the Vietminh, whom it once formally recognized as Indo-China's government within the French Union, was going from bad to worse; the Vietminh Army was "as strong as, if not stronger than last year" (**NYT** from Saigon, 12/1) despite a force of over 460,000 French, German and colonial troops (**NYT,** 11/25), large-scale napalm bombing and an annual expenditure of over a billion dollars (**U.S. News,** 11/28). **Tribune des Nations'** "Colonel X" wrote (10/31):

> Who can still today see the Indo-China war as anything but a thankless participation in a dubious American enterprise? . . . There is nothing left but to prepare a rapid resolution of the struggle and repatriation of our troops. This depends less on the enemy, who seems always ready to negotiate, than on us and our allies. [Transport of our troops home] is an unrealizable operation in the present state of our available means in less than several years. And there is little likelihood that the U.S. will lend us [their transport fleet] for the purpose. . . . At the most they would agree to organize the transfer from Indo-China to Korea. Thus one is brought back to the only real military problem posed at the moment by the Indo-China war: how to get out of it?

What was most likely to come from Eisenhower's trip was an attempt to arm more S. Koreans to replace more Americans; but realistic commentators were not hopeful of the possibilities in this direction. Anti-U.S. guerrilla activities by U.S.-armed S. Koreans were reported on the increase. Denny (**NYWT,** 11/28) commented on the S. Korean troops'

> . . . severe limitations indicated by the experience of the past month. . . . Spotty speed-up training, lack of seasoned officers . . . and other similar factors add up to the conclusion that many older and steadier American troops will be required alongside the increasing number of ROK divisions.

MORE CONFUSION: To seasoned UN observers the Eisenhower trip seemed to promise only further confusion and—no matter what "end-the-mess" formula he might present to expectant voters—further bloodshed. Eisenhower's comment when he visited UN last week—"Brother, this is something"—shed little light on his philosophy. Big business' position was made clear in **Washington Outlook** newsletter (11/29):

> A truce will make the predicted business slide almost certain. . . . Failure of cease-fire efforts could be a stimulant . . . that would call for more men and more guns. . . . The more likely result: a firmer business tone, with a delay in the expected dip.

UN morale reached a new low when a three-man "legal panel" set up by Secy.-Gen. Lie recommended that all UN employes "except those who came from Communist countries," who participate in "activities regarded as disloyal" (by Washington), should be fired. Several Paris papers proposed that, in view of the U.S. pressure to which UN is subject in New York, it be transferred to Geneva.

For Eisenhower as he prepared to leave for Korea, N.Y. **Daily News** columnist John O'Donnell had a constructive suggestion. He should strike a "blow at the pinkos" by being sworn in with the Bible used by George Washington.

Americans like Soviet plan

The Gallup Poll (**NYWT,** 11/24) found that 65% of Americans favor

> . . . the UN naming a committee, made up of an equal number of representatives from the Communist countries, the Allied nations, and neutral countries to try to settle the Korean War.

The Poll report added:

> The idea of the commission of warring powers and neutrals originated with Russia's UN delegate Andrei Vishinsky.

Only 26% expressed disapproval; 6% had no opinion.

11 Czech leaders sentenced to death

IN a sensational trial in Czechoslovakia, where Western agents have especially concentrated their efforts since E. Europe's new socialist regimes were founded, 14 top leaders pleaded guilty to attempts to sabotage the economic reconstruction. Eleven were sentenced to death, including former Foreign Minister Vladimir Clementis, former Communist Party Secy.-Gen. Rudolf Slansky, and former party newspaper editor Andre Simone (pen name for Otto Katz). Simone, who was in Mexico during the '40's, and Clementis, who was his country's UN spokesman in New York up to 1950, were known to many Americans.

Prague Radio broadcast the complete trials. The U.S. press, concentrating on testimony that 11 defendants were "the product of Zionist organizations," used it to launch a new wave of "anti-Semitism" charges against Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, which have made anti-Semitism a major crime and vainly sought in UN to induce other countries to follow suit. (Similar charges of anti-Semitism were made about the Moscow trials in the 1930's.) Played down was testimony about industrial sabotage and plotted assassinations which readers might link with John Foster Dulles' "Project X" for spying, assassination and underground war, proclaimed in 1949 and—as many U.S. correspondents have admitted—widely carried out.

NAZI SHADOWS: **UP** staff writer Neil MacNeil (**NYWT,** 11/28) in a now-it-can-be-told story disclosed that Clementis had "contacted a leader of the Czech anti-Communist underground" in New York through "a close friend" in 1949, in an attempt to obtain U.S. sanctuary; he had been assured he would get it, but had decided to return home—where he continued several months as Foreign Minister—to face the music.

Some light was thrown on the background of the case by the testimony of former Deputy Security Minister Redrich Reicin, one of the 11 Jewish defendants. Reicin said the Gestapo had arrested him during the war and compelled him to work for them; in 1946 he had revealed the whereabouts of the archives of Karl Frank, wartime Nazi boss of Czechoslovakia, which listed names of Gestapo collaborators like himself. Next day the U.S. Army sent a jeep to get the archives, and subsequently were in a position to blackmail the same people to work for them. This was the only trial testimony conceded in the U.S. to be based on truth: the N.Y. **Times** parenthesized (11/26):

> An incident of this kind actually did take place and led to a Czechoslovak protest at the time.

The names of Noel Field, London-born, Swiss-educated American whom Washington calls a Soviet agent and Moscow a U.S. agent, and of his brother Hermann cropped up in the case as in the Rajk trial in Hungary. Disappearance of both the Fields in E. Europe in 1949 has been a mystery, but last week the Vienna Communist paper **Volkstimme** and Prague Radio reportedly admitted they were "under arrest in Eastern Europe."

Further details on the trial were awaited from the GUARDIAN's Prague correspondent.

LABOR

CIO convenes amid "united labor" calls

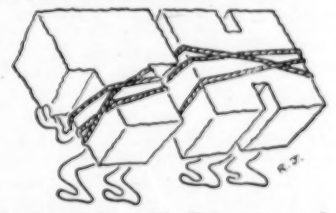
FOR U.S. labor last week there seemed to be a bend in the road. The arm-chairs occupied for decades by two ex-miners, William Green and Philip Murray, were draped in black, symbolizing the end of an era.

In recent years they had taught the AFL and CIO to look to Washington for the final nod in collective bargaining. They and their lieutenants had found in Washington power and prestige in government jobs, unofficial ambassadorships, White House audiences.

Green and Murray had committed their federations to the domestic and foreign policies of the Democratic administration; in return they were considered in the party's pocket.

THE OLD WAY: Before the Eisenhower landslide, and while Murray and Green still lived, Big Business had already begun its organized assault on labor. Big Steel and Intl. Harvtster set out to replace the wage freeze with a wage slash. Truman boards had long ceased to give comfort to labor, but labor leaders talked as if they still had strings to pull. Under Eisenhower there would be even fewer strings to pull—real or imaginary.

A month after the election, labor leaders—from Harry Bridges to the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters—were urging a return to labor's reliance on its own picket-line power.



President Earl W. Jimerson and secy. Patrick E. Gorman of the Meat Cutters wrote in the **Butcher Workman:**

> We may have to go soap-boxing again. There must be a revival of the spirit of sacrifice for the cause, and willingness to get fired for speaking out against industrial injustice.
>
> We may have to go to jail and riot to be blackballed so the cause might live. The fundamental concepts of the trade union movement will have to be reborn.

UNITY MOVE: George Meany, replacing Green as AFL president, issued a unity call to CIO that differed from his chief's old formula. He did not invite the CIO to "rejoin labor's house." He reactivated the AFL committee to negotiate on unity—with CIO first, then with the United Mine Workers and the railroad brotherhoods.

Elmer Bendiner, GUARDIAN's labor editor, is covering the CIO convention. Watch for his report in our next issue.

Within the CIO came answering calls that seemed sure to lead to negotiations, though it was too early to predict the outcome. Supporters of president Reuther within the United Auto Workers talked of economic and political unity. Reuther had spoken of a labor party earlier; but with the Democrats in power political plums were too easily plucked to upset the arrangement. Now the scene had changed.

CIO leaders meeting in New York to plan a "living memorial" to Philip Murray quarreled instead over who should step into his shoes. The jockeying went on between the ambitious Reuther and CIO organization director Haywood, choice of the steelworkers.

John L. Lewis, ardent proponent of unity, was waiting for the dust to settle; he was preparing for a vacation in South America.

VICTORY FOR WARD: The Big Business offensive also employed murder frame-up. In Chicago, as an aftermath of the bitter Intl Harvester strike, UE leader Harold Ward, a Negro, stood trial for assault with intent to murder one strike breaker, murder of another. The state, seeking to try its strongest case first, brought the assault charge. After two hours the all-white jury acquitted Ward. State's attorneys then sought to postpone the murder trial, but defense atty. William Stewart told the court:

> "This is preposterous. Since when do you indict a man and then go out to get evidence to support the indictment?"

The state's case rests on unsupported testimony by a "mystery" eye-witness—Edward Warren. Another eye-witness to the crime, Jackson Ferrell, will describe the murderer of the strike-breaker as having a possible resemblance to Ward.

(Chicagoans were to rally at Labor Temple, 1110 S. Oakley, Sat. night, Dec. 13, to celebrate Ward's victory and to continue the fight for full vindication.)

Willcoxes' passports seized by State Dept.

IN October this year a unique assemblage—367 delegates from 37 countries—gathered in Peking for a Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions. Largest delegations came from India (60) and Pakistan (28). The Soviet Union sent six; there were 14 from the U. S. But despite these figures and the effort to make the conference a truly democratic exchange of ideas, to the U. S. State Dept. it was "communist-dominated." Secy. of State Acheson announced that legal action would be taken against U. S. citizens attending if passport violation could be found.

Last week the first U. S. delegates came home. Flying in from London, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Willcox (he is a well-known construction engineer) were met by a swarm of immigration officials at New York's Intl. Airport at Idlewild who seized their passports. Threat of possible prosecution was held over them on the grounds that their passports were not valid for travel in countries frowned upon by the U. S. government.

Willcox was undismayed. He proudly told reporters next day that he and his wife had gone to the conference "to stand up and be counted for peace." For their information he distributed printed copies of a full report on the conference by Hugh Hardyman of California, vice-chairman of the U. S. delegation. Metropolitan papers quoted only that portion of it which declared that the entire delegation was convinced of the validity of germ-warfare charges against U. S. forces in Korea. They ignored the bulk of the report describing the full and free discussions which led to unanimous agreement on how to achieve world peace.

VIENNA NEXT: Harassment of U. S. delegates to Peking was being used as a threat to prospective delegates to the World Peace Congress meeting opening in Vienna Dec. 12. In addition, the State Dept. denounced the Vienna gathering as being convened by the "communist high command." In answer, Dr. Willard Uphaus, head of the U. S. sponsoring committee, said that the denunciation is simply

> . . . more of a great deal of evidence that our top officials are opposed to any peace meeting of east and west, no matter how broadly representative, no matter how democratic the rules of procedure. . . . On the one hand, the State Dept. dismisses the congress as "communist-dominated," on the other hand it seeks to keep from Vienna, by denial of passports or by "advice," the very persons whose presence there would make the congress truly representative of American thinking.

From Vienna came word that this telegram had been received from Helen Keller: "Am with you in your splendid movement."

From Paris came an announcement by Fernand Leger, muralist who decorated UN headquarters in New York, that he would be a delegate.

What the PP did

The Progressive Party Natl. Committee, meeting in New York Nov. 29-30, urged immediate demands on President-elect Eisenhower to guarantee a non-jimcrow inauguration—as a first step toward fulfilling his campaign promise to end segregation in the nation's capital.

Other actions called for an immediate cease-fire in Korea with settlement of the POW issue later; a campaign to blunt the effect of the repressive Walter-McCarran omnibus immigration and deportation law on the nation's 14,000,000 foreign-born and their families; and full participation by PP organizations in the campaign for clemency for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

A full report on the PP program and a detailed analysis of the Walter-McCarran Act—and how to fight it—will appear in next week's GUARDIAN.

Borough near 500,000

LATEST (but still incomplete) California returns give IPP's Senatorial candidate Reuben Borough 476,297 votes in 42 out of the state's 58 counties. He is expected to top 500,000. Unofficial tallies reported in the **People's World** gave the Hallinan-Bass ticket 20,481 in 36 counties. Earlier reports of a larger vote were based on California estimates not borne out.

IPP local offices gave these returns: John Allen Johnson for Congress, 7 CD (Oakland): 21,700 or 15.9% of the total; Miss Zoe Borkowski, for Assembly, 18 AD (Berkeley): 5,500, 11.6%.

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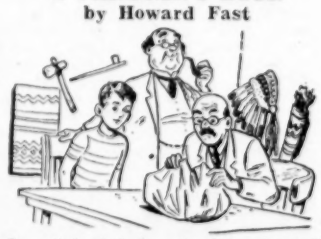
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Chicago

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THE LAW

Decision on CP perils all, say attorneys

FOR more than a year a panel of the Subversive Activities Control Board, a creation of the McCarran Internal Security Act, conducted hearings to determine if the Communist Party should be forced to register under the act as an agency of a foreign power. The panel decided it should; the matter is now pending before the full board. Last week attorneys for the CP—Vito Marcantonio, John J. Abt and Joseph Forer—filed briefs and motions against the panel's recommended decision, charged it was based on

. . . fabricated testimony, misrepresentation and concealment of facts, unfounded inferences and innuendos, and the violation of elementary rules of evidence for the ascertainment of truth.

The brief contended that denying elementary principles of justice to the CP is "jeopardizing the liberty of every American." A separate motion called for disqualification of Board chairman Peter Campbell Brown, who was on the hearing panel, because of a Nov. 6 TV appearance in which he praised the Board's work, predicted an adverse ruling against the CP.

PAID PATRIOTS: Another motion called for reopening the hearing on the basis of newly-discovered evidence that three of the government's witnesses gave perjured testimony to the knowledge of the Justice Dept. The three swore they were unpaid as witnesses, apart from expenses, and testified as a "patriotic duty." A stipulation signed by the Justice Dept. in the Flynn case in New York shows that one received government pay of $23,829.45 above expenses, a second $16,225, the third $10,048.

The brief declared:

If the Recommended Decision is permitted to stand, the fascist techniques which it uses to condemn the Communist Party will be applied, under the McCarran Act, to brand political non-conformists as "foreign agents" and "Communist fronts," and to outlaw every organization that dares to express fundamental opposition to the policies of the national administration then in power.

Alger Hiss: no parole

ALGER HISS, convicted of perjury in denying Whittaker Chambers gave him secret documents for transmission

to Russia, and described by Lewisburg federal penitentiary officials as a "model prisoner," was denied parole for which he was eligible after serving 20 months. His full term would run two more years with time off for good behavior.

The day after he applied for parole, his attorney, Chester T. Lane, filed an appeal against a recent denial of a new trial. The defense, in a fabulous undertaking rivaling all detective-story fiction, proved that a typewriter can be constructed to duplicate another machine so faithfully that experts are deceived. Lane bluntly charged that Chambers "framed" Hiss through "forgery by typewriter." In his appeal against denial of a new trial, Lane said Federal Judge Henry W. Goddard had acted

. . . without fair hearing . . . accepted the government's unsubstantiated gossip and rumors as sufficient to controvert sworn statements of defense witnesses.

Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno, who has made a career of violent anti-communism, had written the parole board chairman that Hiss is a "dangerous man" and his release would be "fraught with danger." Vice-President-elect Nixon, who as an Un-American Activities Committee member was instrumental in bringing Hiss to trial, said Hiss should be treated "just like any other common criminal—like a thief, robber or murderer." The board said it received 50,000 letters and telegrams, mostly opposing a parole.

HAVE YOU RENEWED?
SEE PAGE 2

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The Rosenberg case

(Continued from Page 1)

Brooklyn's Rev. John Paul Jones in which he said:

> It is hard to dispel the feeling that the mood and temper of the present time have created an atmosphere in which a fair trial has been extremely difficult, if not impossible. . . . Commutation of the sentence . . . will make it possible to correct an injustice, at least partially, should later evidence or study prove such to be the case.

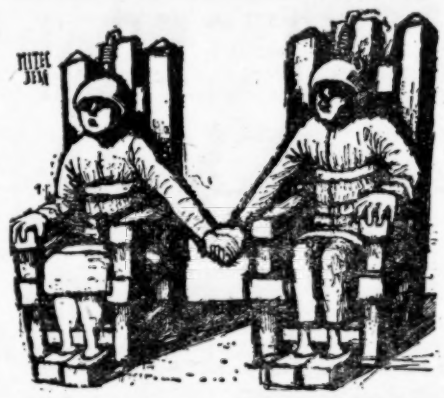
Ten thousand shipyard, machine shop, steel mill and oil workers in Trieste, joined by 400 delegates to the second Congress of the Union of Democratic Women of Trieste, unanimously adopted resolutions calling for clemency and freedom for the Rosenbergs. Among new voices added to the clemency appeal were:

> E. M. White, prominent English judge; Prof. Maurice Dobb, Cambridge University; Simone Cohen, Pierre Braun, Charles Lederman, French lawyers; Henry Collins, Benjamin Farrington, English historians; Gwyn Thomas, Welsh novelist; Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Anti-Semitism, Melbourne, Australia; Belgian Section, Intl Assn. of Democratic Lawyers.

ACTION

1. Write to the President urging executive clemency.

2. Call the local press demanding full and fair stories on world-wide defense action. Write letters to the press.



Drawing by Mitelberg

British author-lecturer Shaw Desmond wrote:

> As a publicist of international connections, . . . I frankly have little doubt that a carrying out of the electric chair sentence . . . may have unwonted repercussions . . . throughout the British Empire. . . . Even if the parties were guilty, a death sentence for espionage would shock the British public, [but] their guilt, to put it mildly, is a matter of considerable doubt.

Preparations continued for a nation-wide Clemency Gathering to be held in Washington, D. C., on Jan. 4 and 5. It was also announced that a Prayer Vigil on the White House lawn to be conducted 24 hours a day for 18 days will begin on Dec. 24.

Freedom hope still dim for Trenton 2

PRESSURE of public opinion had won a victory for the last two of the Trenton Six: their life-imprisonment sentence for a murder they could not possibly have committed was reversed Nov. 24 by the New Jersey Supreme Court. But for the two young Negroes—Ralph Cooper and Collis English, who have spent nearly five years in jail—freedom still looked far away.

The Trenton case, originally made known throughout the world by the GUARDIAN, seemed to be developing into a war of attrition, as:

- The American Civil Liberties Union, "gratified" that a new trial had been granted Cooper and English, said its terms of operation precluded it from aiding their defense at a new trial.
- The Natl. Asssn. for Advancement of Colored People, which entered the case with ACLU two years ago, said it would "continue to fight to free English and Cooper" but gave no inkling in what manner it would do so.
- N. J. Progressive Party leader James Imbrie, sparkplug of the educators' and clergymen's group, the Princeton Comm. for the Trenton Six, said he frankly did not know how the group would raise funds to finance a retrial.

"FURTHER TORTURE": William L. Patterson, exec. secy. of the Civil Rights Congress which after fighting alone for the Six withdrew on the entrance of ACLU and NAACP, called on individuals and organizations to write N. J. Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll and Prosecutor Mario H. Volpe urging dismissal of the case and immediate granting of bail. CRC's N. J. director Lewis Moroze said "further imprisonment and another trial would only mean further torture for the two men, and possibly death for English" (who is seriously ill with a heart ailment). But if a war of attrition was to develop, Trenton officialdom seemed confident of winning it. The Supreme Court's reversal decision, while castigating Volpe for "patently improper practices," found the defendants' "confessions" acceptable as evidence and went far to justify Volpe's assertion that the prosecution had been "sustained except for a few technical matters."

Trenton's leading newspaper, the **Evening Times**, whose editor-publisher (a member of ACLU's Natl. Committee) has from the outset been calling for the blood of the Six, laconically told its readers that the Supreme Court ruling

> . . . means a third trial for the two defendants. . . . The court held errors had been committed during the last trial.

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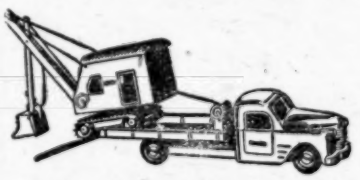

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No. CD 7.	White on white damask, 8 napkins, hemstitched	60x 90	15.00
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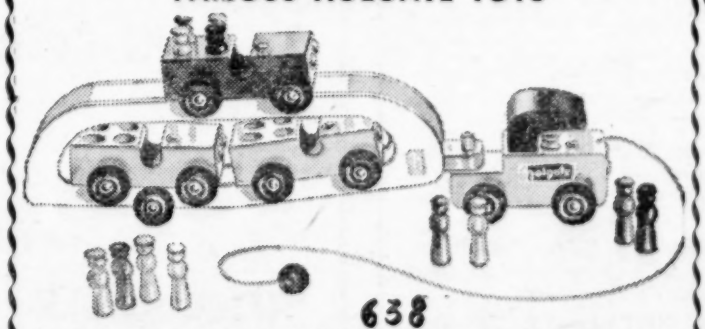

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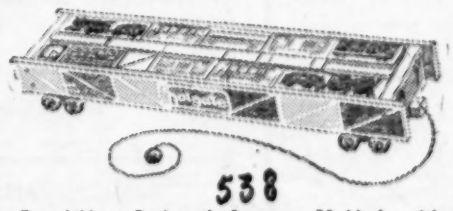

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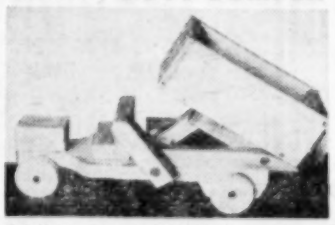

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TOTAL

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